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Reflections

ON A

PAMPHLET

Entituled,

A Faithfull History of the Northern-Affairs
of IRELAND from the late King
James his Accession to the Crown, to the
Siege of LONDON-DERRY. By an
unknown Authour, but one who pretends
to have born a great share in those Trans-
actions.

Whereunto are added the COPIES of several Papers by way
of Appendix.

DUBLIN,

Printed for Robert Thornton in Capelstreet: 1691.

ERRATA.

THe Reader is desired to Correct the several faults following, by reading. In Page 4. Line 4 for of read the p. 13 l. 21. for or r. for. l. 22. for *Obvirating* r. *Obviating* p. 17. l. 5. fill up the space thus. 39. and the space in line 9th. thus. from p. 32. to p. 37. p. 22. l. 18. for *nedeavoured*, r. *endeavoured*. l. 25 for *preserev* r. *preserve*. p. 25. the last line but one, for *Arts* r. *Arts*. p. 26. l. 14. for *were* r. *are*. l. 17. *efflecting*, r. *effecting*. p. 28. l. 4. for *to think* r. *do think*. p. 30. l. 1. for *Lgebtom* r. *Leighton*. p. 37. l. 25 for *asfit* r. *assist*. The other faults, tho' many (occasion'd by the Ignorance of the Corrector) being only Litteral and of no great prejudice to the sense the Reader is desired kindly to pass them over.

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THE PREFACE.

THE affectation of being in Print, is so much to be disliked by every Prudent man, that no person who puts a just value on his pains, will bestow it in writing for publick view, in expectation of raising a Reputation, unless the Subject be more useful and better treated, than what is ordinarily published.

But when a man sees the Chief persons of his Country traduced, and their earnest endeavours for the safety thereof, misrepresented, it seems no Miracle in such a case, that a dumb man's tongue is loosed.

Some men will possibly say, that the apparent malice and incoherences, together with the little credit given to the Pamphlet, on which this makes some Reflections, are sufficient testimonies that the work hath done no great injury, and therefore deserves not an Answer. but when it is considered, that those Readers, who impartially examine, are the fewest in number; that even the Intelligent, and those of a candid disposition, are not always attentive, and that the vogue of Reputation depends more on the Multitude, for whose information this is intended, and that not only Prudence, but Justice, requires mens using all honest means for preserving their own and Countries credit, it may be presum'd, that what is done herein, is neither improper or unnecessary; but that it is fit to undeceive such as may have been imposed upon, to give the least credit to that Pamphlet, in any part thereof relating to the Transactions in the North-East of Ireland in the year, 1688.

The Preface.

That which makes this seem further necessary to be published, is, that the Pamphlet to which 'tis an Answer, was too advantageously brought into publick, having been Licensed to the Press by Mr. Frazier, which occasioned application to be made to His Majesty in Council, representing, that Mr. Frazier had been guilty of Licensing a Seditious and false Libel, intituled, A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland. &c. which Mr. Frazier denied, but Mr. Tooke; the Printer thereof, proved upon Oath; whereupon His Majesty gave Mr. Frazier a Rebuke he merited, and it's probable he had felt greater marks of His Majesties Displeasure, but that his pretence of former Services pleaded for him, and he is further beholding to Their Majesties Mercy in Their Gracious Act of Indemnity; that he is not prosecuted as a Criminal.

History should so represent matters, as to beget true Idea's in the Reader's mind of Persons and Things which are the Subject thereof; but this History has a very different end, for there is not therein one Blemish duly placed, and scarce a good Character truly given; in that part thereof which relates to the Transactions in Ulster: And all this published under the Disguise of an Author that pretends to be a person interested in that Country, and who bore a share in those Transactions, which if true, give himself the deeper blows. That he may the better attain his end, he has every where omitted mentioning the exact time when Affairs were done, whereby he might invert things to his own purpose.

In these Observations it was found necessary, oft to quote the Line as well as the Page, for that the same person and matter are diversly represented in one and the same page.

(1)
SOME
REFLECTIONS
UPON A
Pamphlet, &c.

FEW Persons would be at the pains to read this, were it of that length which the detection of every Falshood in the Book requires, and it would thereby miss of attaining the End for which it was undertaken, which is, in some measure, to undeceive such Readers as have been imposed upon by that Treatise, and to vindicate Truth, and the persons therein injur'd. Wherefore the following Reflections shall be confined to the confutation of such matters only, as seem the main scope of the Author;

First in his Title-page and elsewhere, he would impose upon the Reader to believe that he is a *person who bore a great share in the Transactions, and gives a true account of the Mis-carriages, &c.* And page 38. line 28. *that he is one who has therefore lost his Estate.*

It is also one of his chief designs to perswade the Reader that the Protestants of *Ulster*, from a rash fancy of their own strength, and the like foolish motives, and consequently, not from a principle of self-preservation, and the necessity thereof then before them, but a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, entred into an Association and took up Arms, and that the whole design of the *Ulster* Protestants was inconsiderate, contrary to prudence, and the opinion of His Wise Man.

And that all the *discredits and misfortunes of the Ulster Protestants, were the effects of the mis-management of a few Persons*, on whom the Author thinks fit to lay this heavy imputation, and therefore that of the slaughter and ruine of so many persons as have or shall perish in that Province.

The Author who occasions these Reflections, Orator like, by his promising Title would invite the curious, and by his pretended Qualifications of being concerned in the Transactions, and the sincerity and Justice he professes in his last page, would so insinuate himself as to deserve credit.

Yet notwithstanding those Arts, and his worse practice in transgressing all the Rules sacredly observed by Historians, and even those of good manners. he shall here meet with fair usage. And that neither he, nor the Tools who supplied him with materials may have any pretence of exception against the Evidence here used to confute the Author of that Pamphlet, his own Testimony shall be one of the main Witnesses, which is confessed, ought not in any other case to be admitted; and what is farther produced, shall not be a Collection of hearsays and Reports, like the Author's, but such as would be admitted in Judicatures or otherwise, as authentick as the Subject matter requires, and what will abide the severest Enquiry.

Let the Reader and every unbyassed person judge, if it were possible for a man to have bore a great share in the Transactions related, and be a faithful Historian of them, and yet neither know who were *Members of the Council* who managed Affairs, or the places and Country where all was acted; and that he was ignorant in those particulars is evident in too many places to be here severally observed. But to give some instances, he says in the 18th page, that *Captain Poyntz was a Member of that Council*, and represented the Inhabitants of the County of *Ardmagh*; whereas all persons then concerned, knew Mr. *Marke Middleton* was the

only

only man who bore that Character. And page 36th, That Loughbrickland is within three miles of Newry, yet all who have been in those Towns, find the distance eight long miles. Page 39. Line 14th, he says, *the Irish sent a Trumpetter to Summon the Town of Hillsborough*, Tho' every man, who hath been once there, knows it to be an open Village, and that the part thereof capable of being any way defended, is a Fort adjoining to the East side thereof, wherein is the dwelling house of *William Hill. Esq;* And he pursues his mistake in the 19th Line, saying, *the Irish were admitted into the Town, and finding the Gates only shut with an Half Pike;* Yet he tells the Reader in the 18th Line of his 37th page, and in other places, that Hillsborough was the place of Residence of the Provincial Assembly or Council, and the heart of the North. However this great Transactor thought it not fit during the time of his service there, so much as to behold the place, but is for surprizing his Reader with a new Discovery of his own, that Truth as well as Justice is blind. In his 10th page, he saith, *the Association was entred into in September, 1688.* but it was not till the 7th of *January* following. In his 15th page, Line 21. He gives a further instance of the exactness of his knowledge in these Affairs, where he says, *it was first determined that a fit person should be sent with an Address to our present King, congratulating his happy access to the Throne, &c.* This Address was dated at Hillsborough, 19 Jan. 1688, and His Majesty was not declared King, till the following February, and the Title of the Address it self is to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange.

The Author in his Title page pretends to give a true account of *the occasion of the Miscarriages, &c.* To confute this assertion fully, would require a particular Answer to, or Observation almost on every period of the Book, for there is scarce one action relating to what happen'd in *Ulster* (which is the Task the Author has undertaken) truly relat-

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Re ted, and with its proper circumstances of Time, Place and Persons ; but the Author having heard there was such a Kingdom as *Ireland*, and such and such Persons therein, &c. he hadled all together ; and he ~~a~~ creating Poet, assigns each person such Characters as he thought might best suite with the Musick of their names, in the framing his Romance. So *Colwill* he thinks a name fit to comprehend the Images of Wealth, Wisdom and Power ; but to the great misfortune of the Author, the real Gentleman is too well acquainted with himself, and Estate, and too modest to assume those degrees of them, which the Author so profusely bestows ; and *Sir Robert* is one of those many Gentlemen, that have certified the Author to be a scandalous Libeller ? So *Annesley*, is fit for raising and fixing in the mind the Images of ancient Birth, great experience in War, and, *Curtius* like, a readiness to leap into Destruction for the service of his Country ; but how unlucky were it, if those Characters are not perceived by any other person ; As for the rest of the Protestant *Irish* Families, there is not one Name among 'em fit to contain the entire Character of an Hero, and the best of them serve for some chance single action, but the Generality only for that of Knave and Fool ; and among others is pleased to enlist *James* late Duke of *Ormonde*, Doctor *Michael Boyle*, Arch-Bishop of *Ardmagh*, *Arthur* Earl of *Granard*, and *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, who tho' not named in his 19th and 24th Lines of the 4th page, yet are the Persons in whose hands, he says, *the Administration of Affairs in Ireland continued, from the Death of King Charles the Second, until the Earl of Tyrconnel took Possession of the Government* ; Those he calls *seeming Protestants, the pretended Friends of Ireland, and Authors of its Ruine, under the Umbrage of whose Power the Popish Desigus in Ireland were advanced*. Indeed in the same 4th page, he is pleased to be just to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and say, that *he gave the Earl of Tyrconnel opposition in placing*

cing *Papists in the Army*; but such coherences are the Author's mode of writing, and according to the new Historical License he frequently assumes very consistent. So in the 3^d and 24th Lines of his said 23^d page, he would make his Reader believe, that *the Lord Mountjoy combin'd with Tyrconnel in his double design of pretending to surrender the Kingdom, and never intending it*; and yet in the same page, and even the following Period, he truly tells the Reader, that *the loss* (in the Lord Mountjoy's going for France) *of a Gentleman so considerably qualified for the Publick Service, gave a mighty blow to the Protestant Interest*: These and many more such touches of the Author's Fidelity and Judgment, may induce some to believe, that want prevailed upon him to write, and a remorse of Conscience directed him so to contrive his work, that he should not be credited; yet further let the Reader judge, how artificial his incoherences are: In the 28th Line of the 38th page, he endeavours by the word, *Our*, to crowd himself among the suffering Protestants of Ireland, and consequently, sincere Assertors of the Interest of the present Government: yet in that same period he easily discovers himself, to be either a Papist, or one of their Faction; for he affirms, that the mismanagements there pretended, were the occasion of *the forfeiture and corruption of the Blood and Estates of the Irish Protestants*, which could not be true, unless the proceedings of the Convention in England were void, and the Acts of the Mock-Parliament held at Dublin in May, 1689, were of force, wherein not only the Parliament of England and Body of Irish Protestants dissent from him, but all the sincere Protestants of the three Kingdoms. He gives other Evidences of his being of the Popish Faction, as in the 8th and 9th pages, where he makes the Letter discovering the Popish Designs of using some general violence on, or Massacre of, the Protestants about the 9th of December, 1688 to be a contrivance among the Protestants, and the Mas-

sacre

face only a pretence for the Protestants to engage some, and animate the dejected people. Now this was the very face put upon that matter by the Papists, but the Protestants then had so many other concurring circumstances (which the Author conceives not fit for his notice and purpose) to assure them of the truth of that design, and some Protestants have since been so confirmed therein, by one of the Popish Religion, but of another Nation, that there is now no room for doubting the truth thereof, unless this Author's credit be sufficient to supersede all other Testimonies.

Before any Observations are made on the second head proposed, it seems a little necessary to state the case of the *Ulster* Protestants, thereby to know their circumstances, without which it is not likely to make a true judgment, either of the folly or necessity of what they did. The Usurpation of the Popish Magistrates, in assuming their Offices contrary to Law, and the Use they made of them to subvert the *English* Government and Interest in *Ireland*, are sufficiently known, as also the Terror the Protestants were under from the practice of the Ancestors of the present Papists, in 1641. and the extraordinary number of needy, profligate Papists, Armed by *Tyrconnel*, who could be no otherwise subsisted, but by the spoil of the Protestants, and whose Commanders laid an ancient claim to the Estates of the Protestants; neither is it less known that the Papists before the Arrival of his Majesty in *England*, were full of assurance of effecting their design in *Ireland*, without the Apprehension of the least opposition. But his Majesties surprizing enterprize and success in *England*, made the Papists hasten their measures, and immediately to execute those projects for which they intended to allow somewhat a longer time, and in some measure to proceed under the disguise of Laws, hereupon the Protestants were in most places, and according to the advantages the Papists had over the Protestants in several Counties, deprived

prived of their Horses, Arms, and other Goods, and that being done, it could not be thought safe to permit such a Number of Persons dissaffected to, and so oppressed by a Government to live, especially since their cause required, that the greatest Number and choice of their Soldiers were to be Transported into their Neighbour Nations, so that now they had brought the affair to that pass that a Massacre of the Protestants was necessary to their Preservation and expected Success, and no Man can doubt, if he will judge of things to come by those that are past, this Question could be much debated among them who pretended that Religion and Loyalty as well as their own safety required it; but the Execution of this Holy design was in all human probability prevented, by the Discovery made thereof in *Ulster*, and the consequence of that Discovery in that Province. So the Question before the *Ulster* Protestants which they were to determin on the 7th of *January*, 1688 when they first Associated, and a few days before by some of them, who had proposed taking up of Arms was this; Which was fittest for them under all their wants of Arms, Money, Ammunition, &c. to apply themselves to his present Majesty for relief and Protection, and in order to be serviceable to the *English* Interest, for the present to model and Arm themselves in the best manner they were able, and suppress the Papists of that Province; Or on the other hand, tamely to suffer *Tyrconnel* to possess himself of their Towns, &c. the former appears to have been their choice, and it is for that the Author censures them, though the *Ulster* Protestants under all their Misfortunes, are satisfied they pursued their Duty, and that the consequences thereof are more for their advantage, than what the Author wishes they had chose, for besides that the same ruin, and a greater then that they are now under, had in that case befallen them, they had thereby given the Papists an opportunity of invade-

ing *Scotland*, before the Estates of that Kingdom had made so wise a choice in settling their Government and then the *Isle of Brittain* had been the Seat of War, the event whereof is always thought uncertain, and the *Irish* Protestants deprived of that Charity which has preserved great Numbers of them in *England* and *Scotland*, and probably for ever of their Estates, whereas at present they have a much better prospect of being restord to them.

And that it is one of the Authors main designs to expose the folly of the *Ulster* Protestants undertakings appears through the whole History, in the 22d. and 27th. lines of his 6th Page, and in the beginning of the 11th. Page, where he says *they flattered themselves and rashly fancied they were able to attempt their Deliverance*; Yet the Author has himself made it sufficiently evident, that it was not those vain and wanton fancies that prevailed with the Protestants to Associate and take up Arms, but Self-preservation, and that no grounds, which were ever so much as pretended by other Men for such an Act, was wanting in the case of the *Irish* Protestants. In the latter end of the 3th. Page, he says, *Tyrconnel laying aside his Hypocrisy openly Acted as the professed Enemy to the Brittish interest, and having already invested the Native Irish with a full power over the Lives of their Conquerors, by Arming them with the Sword of revenge, he afterwards packed such Judges on the several Benches as were every way engaged to subvert the Legal settlement of the whole Kingdom, these were the Unfortunate circumstances of the Protestants of Ireland when they first heard the news of his Majesties Charitable design (of relieving England, &c.) and in the end of the 6th page, he says the necessity they (the Protestants) seemed to lie under of Arming themselves against a numerous Rabble, which Tyrconnel was then raising, and who had no other visible means to subsist, but on the Plunder & ruine of the Protestants. And about the middle of the 7th page, there*

there are these words: *Some Protestants having just before lost their Livelihoods with their employments: and others daily expecting to be ejected out of their Estates, by the corrupt Trespasses on the the Act of Settlement, and towards the end of the 9th page, the raising of the New Levies (by Tyrconnel) was the great Step to those heavy misfortunes that soon after fell upon the whole Kingdom, for their Officers having abandoned them to their own shifts, and the Government allowing no other Substance than what they could Plunder from the Protestants brought such a fate upon the Gentlemen of Leinster and Munster that most of them enjoyed but one Days space between Riches and Beggary.* Now the danger of the Protestants needs not be represented in more lively Colours, but he yet further clears them (if it be possible,) from that folly wherewith he charges them, for in the 6th page, he says, *they were in daily expectation of a considerable supply from England,* but above all in page 35, 36, and 37, he represents the Number and Force of the *Ulster* Protestants to have been so considerable, without any supply from England; that he there charges the managers of the Protestants affaires, with the several ill Characters, he is very bountiful in bestowing on these Gentlemen, on pretence of ill Conduct, Treachery and the like. In his 36th page, he says, *which method keeping Forces at a distance was the great occasion of our ensuing miseries.* But since this Judicious Historian censures the Protestants of *Ulster*, let his Opinion be a little considered what he thought was fit for those Gentlemen to do; In his 10th page, he says, *they were not so incense a Government that courted them.* But this Author of short memory, has unluckily in the former part of the same page said, *Tyrconnel never intended to keep his promises longer then they served his design,* which plainly proves that the moderate Councils which he makes to proceed from his wise Man, were not the means to preserve the Protestants, but were those indeed he wishes they had practised,

practised, because they had been thereby deceived and utterly Ruined, yet this confused account of this Authors may help to lead a Man to the truth of the matter, the sad circumstances of the *Irish* Protestants who could not expect safety, either from the Government or their own strength.

But since the Proceedings of the *Ulster* Protestants have been censured by some well meaning people, and those who in the main wish better to the *English* interest than the Author of this Pamphlet, a few things shall be offered to the Consideration of such, who think the Protestants of *Ulster* over-hasty in expressing their Zeal for the welfare of their Country and Government, and that they should rather have imitated the practice of many Persons of *England*, who though great Zealots for their Religion and Laws, yet thought they Acted most prudently in not appearing or declaring for his present Majestys interest till all dangers were subdu'd, that might befall them by such Declaration, those are desired to consider; First that the case of the people of *England* and Protestants of *Ireland* differed in several Particulars, for that those who in *England* endeavored the subversion of Religion and Laws Established, had no Bloody designs against the Lives of their Country-men, nor were indeed so numerous as to attempt it, neither did they pretend a Title to the generallity of their Estates, and would have been contented to have enjoyed the sweets of the Government and the Church Lands, but the Protestants case was in all these respects otherwise in *Ireland*. And further all the Nobility and people of *England* were not endued with this private Prudence, for the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, &c. in the North, and the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lord *Delamer* about *Staffordshire*, &c. and several other persons of Note in other parts of the Kingdom, together with those who came with his Majesty out of *Holland*, thought it not unfit for them to own the cause of their Country before the danger

danger was over, and who can tell what had been the fate of *England*? Had this narrow Prudence possess'd those Noble-
mens Breasts, and the like may be said as to *Ireland*, for who that considers does not dread the consequences that had attended such Methods and does not now wish the Prote-
stants had more early and generally appeared in the cause of their Country? and the Concurrence of the *English*, as it assured his Majesties success, so it preserved the Lives of many, and the Honour of the *English* Nation, from the discredit either of Slavery or a Conquest.

It is not a matter of wonder, but what did, and ever will, on like occasions happen, that many people were Clamorous and extremely uneasie upon the first confusions and disorders that were at this time in *Ireland*, for the Inhabitants had all lived several years with great plenty in a secure Peace, and most of them had been bred up in such times, and wholly Ignorant of the Calamities of War and disorders, & like the rest of Men very apt to judge amiss and impute their particular losses and fears to wrong causes, and those next at hand; few Men either looking forward or much reflecting on what is past, and being for the generallity wholly under the Dominion of those passions, which were raised by the great apprehension of an inevitable Ruin, so were not able or willing to distinguish between Mischiefs, that were the certain consequences of their Enemies designs and their own endeavors for their preservations, and those which the ill Conduct of the persons entrusted with the management of their Affairs might be guilty of, neither were they free from that Rancour of envy, which too much possesses Men's breasts and makes them so restless and assume all manner of disguises to effect Mischief, and they were sufficiently Transported with that general failure of Men; in Judging matters by the events as to themselves, neither regarding the general good if it was procured by their Damage, nor having the Wisdom

and Temper to examine and Judge upon what motives and under what circumstances matters were undertaken and executed. But as these and some others such failures have of late too much appeared in the unfortunate Protestants of Ireland; So they ought not to be too severely censured, since such Defects seem to be rather the Weakness of Mankind than of any one Nation or people.

As to the 3^d head, it so far differs from the former that no other Historian affords the like, for if the General undertaking was so ill grounded as he alleges in the end of his 10th page, where there are these Words, *Judging (Sir Robert Colvill) is not fit to incense a Government that coursed them* (the Protestants of Ulster) *especially such a One as he very well knew they could not be able to oppose, &c.* page 2th &c. which if true, how reasonable does it appear wholly to impute that to mismanagement which he says could not succeed; But herein appears the end, for which this piece was designed, for this Author reflects most on those Persons, who either during the time whereof he Writes, or from thence to the time of his Publishing this piece, have given particular Testimonys of their Zeal and Fidelity to the present Government which is every where evident, and very apparent in the case of the Earl of Meath, Concerning whom in his 9th page, he tells a feigned Story both as to a pretended Remonstrance made by him to Tyrconnel, and the occasion of his Lordships going for England; These passages had they been true were not in the Title of his Book, but his Lordship being in their Majesties service, and his Regiment in so good Esteem, that it was one of those which was next the Generals Person during the Winter Quarters, gave occasion to the Author to Treat him as one of Ulster. So in relating the affairs of the North, those whom he generally represents to have been most Active in promoting the Association, and other Methods which were there

conceived likeliest to preserve the Protestants; those are the Persons whom he most reproaches, wherefore the Earl of Mount-Alexander the Lord Massereen Sir Arthur Rawdon Sir William Franklin, and the Gentlemen met to Associate at Cumber, in his 14th page, which he there says, were in Number sixteen Gentlemen, are the Persons whom he cannot mention without some Marks of his displeasure; Therefore in his 15th page he says, that the Gentlemen met at Cumber to Obviate the Mischief of delay, openness and other Inconveniences that attended former Meetings agreed to choose a Junto of five, whose Decrees and Orders should be as binding as if they had been concluded by the General Voice of the Country: In his 16th page he represents that Junto, who having received some Expresses relating to the Publick, denyed a sight of those last Accounts to some Gentlemen then in Town, who had been always Privy to the former Correspondences which made those Gentlemen very much reflect upon the Measures newly taken expecting but slender returns from a Council, who in its very Infancy presumed to Act so Arrogantly Disobligingly, Partially and Imprudently: A World of hard Words, and or what? For performing the Trust so lately reposed in them, viz. Obviating the mischiefs of Openness &c. In his 7th page, he says the Lords of M. and M. whereby he must intend the Earl of Mount-Alexander and Lord Massereen were Men of no extraordinary great Interest. Yet in his 8th. and 17th. pages, he thinks it deserves his pains to spend many lines to shew what Artifices and endeavours the Gentry (whom elsewhere he makes Vain and Ambitious enough to perform all themselves) used to engage those two Noblemen. Yet his History says they were Men of no Interest. That which offended him in these two Noblemen, was that they went not to Dublin on Tyrconnel's Summons, there to be laid by the Heels, soon after to have their Quarters sent to the several Provinces, and

for that each of them were so forward to promote the defence of *Ulster*, and so highly offended *Tyrconnell* as to be by Name exempted from his Mercy. These indeed made the Author wish they had no Interest, and his wishes pass in most parts of his Book for History; So because *Sir Arthur Rawdon* was one of the most Active and Zealous promoters of the Association and other Measures pursued in the North, he feels the Authors heavy displeasure, and in the 7th page is made a Pupil and among others else where bespattered at his random way. It's very well known that Gentleman deserves a very different Character from those who are sincere Lovers of the *English* and Protestant Interest in *Ireland*.

That the Reader may a little Judge how Intelligent a Person the Author is, and how fit to be an Historian, consider what is said in the 35th page, *the Forces of the two Counties (of Down and Antrim) were above ten Thousand Men* and in the 38th page he says, *Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore had one Hundred & fifty Pounds of the Counties Stock, the were fased the day before to advance so much Money, as would have brought the Forces together.* First, it is Notoriously known that Gentleman was never Indebted to either County, but that on several occasions he advanced his own Money for their service, which with other matters relating to that Gentlemans case will hereafter appear, but is it not strange that any Man should imagine that so much may be deducted out of one Hundred & fifty Pounds as will draw ten Thousand Men together, and yet to this he seems to impute the greatest part of the mismanagment, so from the same depth of Judgment he says in the 35th page; *Hilsborough was a Magazin of all their (the Protestants of Down and Antrim) Arms and Ammunition,* and in the 38th pag. where he gives these stores to the Enemy and enumerates the particulars he says *there were fifteen Barrels of Powder and a brass Fieldpiece,* which would

would induce one to believe, he had been Treasurer and Master of the Ordnance to the two Kings of *Brainford*, for these are the Stores, Field-pieces, Arms and Treasure he thinks sufficient to supply ten thousand men, and enable them to oppose *Tyrconnel's* Army, yet in truth he makes the Store of Powder much greater than it was, for those Protestants never had more under their disposal than twenty one Barrels of Powder, and thereof remained at this time about six Barrels; as for the Brass Field-piece, had it been in the days of *Don Quixot*, it had passed for a Pocket-Pistol, but possibly had been a great piece of Battery where the Author served his Apprentiship in War.

This Author also discovers his Judgment concerning a good Citizen, in his 5th page, where he says, that *the change of the Civil Government (upon Tyrconnel's succeeding the Earl of Clarendon) much impoverished Ireland, not only of its Wealth, but of a far greater Treasure, its Wise Men, those that were left behind being only such as altho' they had known how to have helped themselves, yet wanted both power and means to effect it.* So here you have this Historian's Judgment contradicting all others of that profession, as likewise of his Brother Poet's, who all agree in extolling the Wisdom, and imbellishing the memories of those, who, to the hazard of themselves and Fortunes, either fell or succeeded in the Cause of their Country. In his 9th page, Line 6th, he says, *this contrivance (the Discovery in Dublin of an intended Massacre, whereupon 'tis pretended several hundreds of Families suddenly embarked at Dublin and parts adjacent) did very much weaken the Protestant Interest by lessening their numbers.* The plain English of these two places, when compared, is, that it is Wisdom or the part of a Wise Man, to lessen the Protestant Interest; so you have his Judgment as well of the Cause as of Persons.

In the 35th page, he imputes it to the Councils neglect or design, that the Passes were not guarded by the best of their men, and that the ten thousand men belonging to the two Counties were not brought together, which he says in his 36th page, had certainly impeded the Enemies progress. As to that of the Passes, he forgot what he relates in his 13th page, where he tells, that the Papists reinforced the Garrison of the Newry, thereby securing an easy entrance into the North, which is very true, and there is no other Pass of consequence where the Enemy could have been opposed with any advantage : The Protestants were so sensible of the advantage of that place, and of what consequence it was to their Affairs to be Masters thereof, that they often consulted about attempting thereof ; but being wholly unprovided of a Piece of Battery of 12 pounds, without which the small Castle there was not to be forced, they did not undertake it ; They also pressed Colonel Lundy by their Letters to march to the Frontiers, both to reduce that place, and likewise to be more ready and better prepared to oppose the Army, which was then expected Tyrconnel intended to send into Ulster, but they had no better effect of this than the other endeavours they used to procure Arms, Ammunition, &c. from several places.

As to that of bringing the ten thousand men together, he should first have made it appear that they had Arms, Ammunition, Money, &c. for such a Body of men, the want of Arms he owns in his 35th page, and it's already observed what Money, &c. he thought sufficient for that purpose. This Historian either knows not the Truth, or purposely contradicts it, for this Council used all their endeavours to have brought the whole force of the Ulster Protestants to the Frontiers, to oppose Tyrconnel's Army, but these wants, some other reasons, and an opinion which possessed several that they would be able to guard their own Houses and Precincts,

Precincts, made it impracticable for that Council to bring them together.

In his 19th page, he pretends, the Protestants in their Address to His present Majesty, gave *too great a Character of their own strength*: The Address, *vide p.* it self will best confute this, which with the applications at the same time made to the Earl of Clarendon from *Hilsborough, Jan. 19, 1688,* is of a quite contrary strain, and fully represented their wants and danger, for which *vide p. 32 & 36.*

That the Author may be attended in all his Degrees of prejudice, let the Case of Mr. *Hamilton* of *Tullymore* be considered, for depreffing of whom, and aspersing the *Ulster* Protestants, this Piece seems to have been purposely contrived; His malice has no bounds, where he has, or makes occasion to mention this Gentleman. nor is the Author's memory shorter in any part of his Book, than in what relates to him; he concludes his History, where he says, *Mr. Hamilton left the Kingdom,* yet there were several subsequent Transactions at *Coleraine* and other places before the Siege of *Derry*, which the Author in his Title page undertakes, yet omits to relate; And even after the printing thereof, those who contrived the Work: fearing it should miss the end, for which it was brought forth, and not be read and taken notice of, inclosed one of them in a Penny-Post Letter to the Earl of *Monmouth* (and some say another to a greater person) at a juncture of time when it was reported Mr. *Hamilton* was named to an Employment, and attending Duke *Schumberg* in *Ireland*, where that extraordinary Person so far approved of his small Services, that he granted him several Requests, and among others, that of appointing Bills to be given by the Army (whilest behind of their Subsistence) to their respective Landlords, and empowering several of the Inhabitants to be joyned with the Officers of the Army in hearing and determining any difference

rence that should arise between the Soldiers and the Inhabitants in the respective Quarters; all which sufficiently evince what Spirit contrived the Work, and now let the truth of those black Characters which the Author would fix on Mr. *Hamilton* be examined.

The Author has not thought fit in any one place to express his name at large, but on all occasions calls him *H——son of T.* but his descriptions are such in most places, that it can be no other person; this alone is a Testimony of Guilt, for Truth on that Subject required no disguise.

The Author is no more consistent with himself in the Character of this Gentleman, than in other parts of his History, but all would center in endeavouring to make him one of the worst of men, in such part of this Story, where want of an Estate, Interest in his Country; and the esteem of his Neighbours, or charging him with Ignorance and Folly are by the Author conceived the fittest Topicks to vilify him, there he is charged with all these wants; but when this Painter would represent him Treacherous, then Mr. *Hamilton* is sole Manager and Contriver of all, had a better Estate and Interest in his Country, than any of the Eminent Persons excepted in *Tyrconnel's* Proclamation mentioned in his 33d page. Are these two Prospects fit for One Piece and Frame, and how would Doctor *Busby* treat a Lad of such Invention?

The Author in his 7th and 16th pages makes Mr. *Hamilton* Contriver Promoter of the Association, the most active and principal Manager of the whole Affair; and in the 24th page, he was entirely Governour both of the General and Council, so that whatever he proposed passed for a Rule to the rest &c. page 12th, They (whereof Mr. *Hamilton* one) interposing their Great Authority with the Town (Belfast) and page 28th, who (the General) never failed of a ready assent to such

such Methods as the other (Mr. Hamilton) thought fit to propose, and to the same purpose in the 27th Line of the 33d page. But to what end does this Author thus raise and magnify him? that he discovers in the latter end of the 33d page, where he says, Tyrconnel, who at this time was undoubtedly privy to every particular Circumstance that happen'd in the North, and perhaps had been the Chief Contriver of what was transacted, and page 24th, the Country began to grow jealous of the great Authority of this Gentleman, having formerly suspected his Integrity from his favourable carriage towards the Papists at the Quarter-Sessions, which together with his many Popish Relations and great Intimacy with Colonel Marke Talbot, Base Son to Tyrconnel, made many fear, that the Game began to be a little more ticklish than formerly on the Protestants side, &c. and page 38, tho' Hamilton of Tullymore had been thus careless of what concerned the Publick, yet he shewed more Prudence in the preservation of his Private Fortune, for very well knowing what would happen, he engaged his Brother, the night before the Break of Drumore, to hasten home and provide against the Storm that was then gathering. So now the Scene opens, and Mr. Hamilton's Treachery towards the Protestants and combining with Tyrconnel appears; But how are these proved? The same pages contain that also, for in the former part of the 33d page the Author has this Truth, These (Tyrconnel's Proclamations offering pardon to most Protestants that would submit to him, and give up their Arms and Horses) coming to the hands of Hamilton of Tullymore, he burnt them instead of dispersing them. Now let the Reader judge, if the Author's Talent for Satyr be better than for History, for what greater Evidence, on that occasion, could this Gentleman give of his Fidelity to the Protestants, than his destroying those Proclamations, whereby, he as well endeavoured that others should not submit to Tyrconnel, as he did then.

then and by his after carriage shew he rejected *Tyrconnel's* offered Mercy, but chose the Fate of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. As to the Author's Insinuation of *Mr. Hamilton's* Treachery in the notice mentioned he gave his Brother, the truth of the Story was this; *Mr. Hamilton's* Brother had a few days before been commanded to march with his Troop towards the Frontiers, which proved to be upon the approach of *Tyrconnel's* Army. His Brother so hastily obeyed the Order, that he gave no directions concerning the removal of any of his Goods or his Papers, which were of considerable Consequence to the Brothers. *Mr. Hamilton's* Brother was posted at *Drumore*, and about the 13th of *March* wrote to *Mr. Hamilton* to *Hilsborough*, to move the Earl of *Mount Alexander* for leave to go home for a short time, that he might so dispose of his best Goods, as to preserve them in case of any ill accident; In answer to this Letter, and after it had been determined at a Council of War held at *Hilsborough*, to quitt the Counties of *Downe* and *Antrim* to the Enemy and to retreat to *Coleraine* and *Derry*, *Mr. Hamilton* wrote to his Brother, to hasten home, and after securing all things he could by sending them to the *Isle of Man*, immediately to return to *Lisburne*, with what Money, Fat Cattle, or other necessaries he could procure; which were useful for the support of men in the intended Retreat; This was the occasion and whole scope of that Letter; Out of what School has the Author derived his Morals? when this would be made to pass for Treachery, or how was it possible for *Mr. Hamilton* to avoid the ill Characters given him in that History when those his Actions do in that Authors Judgment deserve such representations, as to the suspicions there or else where alleidged which the Gentry of the Country conceived of him, *Mr. Hamilton* imagines those Gentlemen know their own minds better than the Author did, and to that he appeals, which hereafter appears in

in a Certificate they have subscribed, where the Reader will be more truly informed of that Gentlemans carriage than this Author was either able or willing to perform, By what the Author sayes of this Gentleman, in the fore-cited and other places; he must be accountable for every mismanagement, nay and the miscarriages of the whole affair, otherwise the Author has not his end, so he requires Mr. *Hamilton* should be a worker of Miracles and have the power to dispose of the Event of things; It is probable this Author has consumed too much time in Romances, and thinks supernatural powers are as easily made to appear in humane affaires as in those Fictions. The Author in his 20th. page, charges Mr. *Hamilton* with a piece of Treachery towards Captain *Poyntz*, and asserts that by Mr. *Hamiltons* means, *the Council reversed the decrees of other Counties*, but according to his fatal custom of mistaking in the same place he seems to owne what is really true; that if any such Decree was made in favour of Captain *Poyntz*, it was after the determination of those Matters at *Hilsborough*, and how possible it is to reverse what was subsequent thereto, let the Reader judge, were it necessary, several Testimonies can be produced, that Captain *Poyntz* was well pleas'd with the post, which the Council (as the Author by mistake calls that meeting) then intended for him. In his 25th. page, he says; Mr. *Hamilton* subscribed thirty pounas, which he deducted from one hundred pounds due to him for so many Barrells of Beef, and supposing this to be true, is pleased thereupon to make his usual good-natured Observations, First, that Gentlemans subscription was known to be an hundred and forty pounds and no person can say he ever charg'd the publick with a Barrel of Beef or any thing of that kind, and that besides Mr. *Hamiltons* personal expence in the constant Service of his Counrry, that he advanced thirty pounds in the defraying the Charges of that Gentlemans journey who

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who conveyed the Protestants Address, and other Expresses into *England*, and this before there was a Publick Stock or method settled for any such thing : In this 38th page, he sayes Mr. *Hamilton of Tullymore* having particularly recommended the care of his Regiment to their own Conduct, hasted towards *Belfast* in such a hurry, that he left behind a Portmantle of the publick papers &c. The Author herein no less than in other places relating to Mr. *Hamilton* and the *Irish* Protestants, discovers how great degrees of Prejudice were the chief Motives of framing this peice, for many Eye-witnesses are ready to testify that Mr. *Hamiltons* carriage at this time was quite different from what the Author would perswade his Reader, for Mr. *Hamilton* was one of those who voted against retreating before the Enemy, but advised that the Protestants under all their ill circumstances of want of money Arms, Amunition &c. should fight the Enemy. It is also known that upon the flight of the Protestants from *Drumore*, through *Hilsborough*, he there with others neadeavoured to rally the disordered Protestants, and when that was not to be done, he left not *Hilsborough*, till the few Horse and Dragoons which had been there retreated from the Market place, and thereupon he gave Orders to such of his Regiment of Foot as were then at *Hilsborough* to retreat under command of his Major into the Castle, where they might best preserve their Lives by a Capitulation for he conceived the cutting off those few Foot, could not now be prevented by any other means, the Enemies Horse being on an hill at one end of the Town of *Hilsborough* and in his view ; Mr. *Hamilton* was not altogether so ignorant or vaine as to imagine that the Castle (much less the Town of *Hilsborough* was capable of making any resistance, for there was not therein any piece of Ordnance,, and the Ammunition was only about six Barrels of Powder, nor was the want of those and other Necessaries to be charged on the Managers of the Protestant

Protestant affairs, for it (230) might appear that they
 Protestant affairs, for it can be made appear that they used
 their Interest of all kinds to procure those things from Eng-
 land and Scotland: what was within their power they did,
 which was to store up some Oatmeal and the like. Had the
 Enemy known how unprovided *Wilsborough* was of those
 and other necessaries, they had not granted the Terms the
 Author mentions in his 39th page, and the Enemies igno-
 rance in the true state of that place, will with all unprej-
 udiced persons be a demonstration, that those who managed
 the Protestant affairs at *Wilsborough* were not treacherous.
 When *Mr. Hamilton* saw it was in vain to continue longer at
Wilsborough, his Groom committed a mistake in taking a
 Portmanteau belonging to *Sir Arthur Chaulson* for his Ma-
 ster's, which occasioned the loss of most of the Papers rela-
 teing to what was there done, but that this was not the ef-
 fect of envy in *Mr. Hamilton* appears by what he then did;
 for he took in his own hand a large Silver Bowl, and other
 pieces of Plate belonging to the Duke of *Blankenham* and went
 very leisurely from *Wilsborough*, to the top of an adjoining
 Hill, to have a fuller view of the Enemy, and after some
 stay there, went to *Lisburn*, where he endeavoured to per-
 swade the Armed Inhabitants to retreat towards *Derry*,
 but could not then prevail with them. In his last page, he
 says, *Mr. Hamilton* of Tullymore taking a private path to-
 the Sea side, met with a Kessel purposed prepared to transport
 him to Scotland; The Vessel wherein *Mr. Hamilton* was
 transported was an open Boat, one of those which common-
 ly plyed between *Donaghadee* and *Portpatrick*, and it can ea-
 sily be made appear, that *Mr. Hamilton* did not intend to
 leave the Kingdom till all the Measures agreed upon were
 broke and the Protestants in confusion, and that he saw
 many of those, he had been engaged withall, consulting
 how to make their Peace with *Tyrconnell*, or using other
 means for their particular safeties. Now let it be considered

how justly Mr. *Hamilton* is taxed with betraying, or neglecting the *English* Interest, which several of his Acquaintance who knew his Actions are so far from charging him withall, that they think his Offence has been most against himself and family, having on many occasions neglected the Concerns of both, when he thought that of his Country called for his Service. And he is so far from being conscious of any such Guilt, that he wishes nothing more earnestly, as to himself, than a publick Tryal, and the reward which his Actions deserve from the Government of *England* and his own Country: Many more Observations might be made on this Pamphlet both in relation to Mr. *Hamilton* and all those who joyned in the same endeavours, but by those already instanced the Reader is to judge, if the *Ulster* Protestants were foolish in their first choise, or if those they intrusted with the management of Affairs, were either Treacherous or negligent of their Duties, or if they were the occasion of those unhappy circumstances, to which *Tyrconnells* faction brought the *English* Interest, and the Universal Ruine which is now like to overspread that unfortunate Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Should a modern pretender to the Art of Statuary, have found the several broken parts of a *Græcian* Statue, and he to shew his skill, and intending to discredit the Antient Artist places the Fundament in the middle of the forehead, the Feet in Room of the Eyes, and the Belly joyn'd to the Mouth, would the skilfull beholders attribute these Deformities to the *Græcian* Master, or thinke it the misfortune of his memory, that his Work had fallen into hands, that had neither inclination or skill to give the parts thereof their proper position, but to his own misfortune had made some progress in the Art and only knew how to make a Cement, which served to express a feeble malice.

POSTSCRIPT.

THese Observations, together with a Narrative of the Affairs which should have been the Subject of the Faithful History, were intended to have been made publick about the beginning of the year 1690, and for that purpose left in the hands of a Gentleman at London; but some private Reasons moved him, without any Directions from the Persons concerned, to delay the publication of 'em.

Possibly the few who are Countenanceers of, or others who may have been misled to give credit to the Falshoods of the pretended History, may seem to derive some Credit to that Piece, from its having no sooner received an Answer, but that when considered, will appear to be of no weight, for if the Contrivers of that Pamphlet would have vindicated the book, they had an opportunity that required it, when 'twas charged with being Seditious and false, by a Petition before His Majesty in Council about April, 1690. And if there be any Abettors of the Author of that Book, they have a considerable advantage by the delay; for since the Defeat of the Boyne, and the Reduction of (almost) three Provinces of Ireland to the Obedience of the Crown of England, if any of the Ulster Protestants were guilty either of the Folly or Treachery they are charged withall, these things may now be made evident, several persons who were in the service and Councils, of the late King James, being now to be discours'd withal, and many Letters and Papers have since been found, and some even of those lost at Hillsborough, which without doubt had made a full discovery, had such base ~~and~~ been practis'd, by any of the Ulster Protestants.

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Wherefore the late Publication hereof is in so many respects to the disadvantage of the Persons whom that Pamphlet endeavours to misrepresent, that nothing but their being innocent of those Crimes and Folly, which that Book lays to their charge can defend them; Such is the Nature of Truth that it endures, and is made more Evident by passing the Tests of several lights and circumstances, evident by passing the Test of General Justice, and Whoever shall give himself the trouble to reflect impartially on the late transactions in Ireland, will acquit the Ulster Protestants from being guilty of Folly in their Undertakings, and be convinced that the Gentry of Ulster, did propose and attempt what had probably in a great measure prevented not only the Calamities of their own Country. but likewise the hazards to which the Common Interest of Europe were since exposed; And if their ill Fate had so subjected them to the long designs of those Cunning and Implacable Enemies, as thereby to be deprived of the means of affecting somewhat considerably themselves; and that England could not so far pursue it's own Interest as to give them timely relieve, yet reasonable Persons will not call it either a Folly or Crime which was not in their power, but will rather charge it to the Account of the misfortunes, not only of the Protestants of Ulster, but of all the Inhabitants of Europe who are not in love with a French Yoke. And how remote is it from Charity? And the concern which a Subject of England ought to have for the continuance of the frame of that Government, to blast the endeavours of those who struggled most with their own and Countries hard Fate, and who to the Ruine of many of them, have yet been the happy Instruments of preserving that small Light, which induced and led the English Armes. into Ireland in August. 1689. It would better become all heads and hands to contribute to healing the Wounds of their Country. and to rewarding those who used their Endeavours to prevent the Ruine under which it now groans.

Notwithstanding the singular difficulties those Northern Gentlemen were under, yet there cannot be one true Instance given of any Act of oppression or disorder committed by their Authority, or Countenance or, any thing tending to their particular profit, and which was not necessary to the safety of the British Interest. If Mr. Hamiltons Authority was so great that all things were done by his directions, he seems to be Innocent when such extraordinary Malice cannot discover any of his miscarriages.

And as every day doth more and more discover the Injustice done the Protestants of Ulster in that Book, so in particular the injuries therein done Mr Hamilton of Tullimore, are more apparent.

That Author will not allow him to have contributed any thing to the Publick, yet it now appears, that there was no Money borrowed for the publick service wherein he was not engaged. A Judgment being entred up against him at the suite of George Mac-Cartney Esq; in the Common Pleas in Hilary Term 1690. And that he was Sued at the Assizes held at Downe the 17th of March 1690, upon a Bill he entered into on that Account. and is lyable to so many other Suits of that nature, that he has made application to the Government to be relieved.

C O P I E S.

The Certificate given to James Hamilton Esq; by several of the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, occasioned by the false Calumnies Published concerning him, in the pretended faithful History of the Northern affairs of Ireland. &c.

WE hereunto Subscribing Our Names, being Protestants of the Kingdom of Ireland having seen a Pamphlet lately

lately Printed at *London* by *Randall Taylor* neer *Sationers Hall*, entitled a faithfull History of the Northern Affairs of *Ireland*, from the late King *James* his accession to the Crown to the *Siege of London=Derry* to think it our Duty, in order to vindicate Truth, Our Country and some Gentlemen therein highly traduced to give this true Character thereof; That it is a most false and scandalous Writing, devised purposely to serve the Envy and Malice of the Authors and Contrivers thereof, and because it seemes the main intent of that Libel to asperse *James Hamilton* of *Tullymore* in the County of *Downe* Esq; We also think it necessary to declare that very many of us have known him from his Infancy, and that all of us have either seen his carriage in the late Transactions in *Ulster*, from the time it was first reported that his present Majestie intended to vindicate and rescue the Laws and Protestant Subjects of these three Kingdoms from the Subversion and Ruine intended by the Papists; or have had an account of his demeanor, from very credible Persons, and that neither in his youth or riper years he has at any time been so much as suspected of unfaithfullness or want of sincerity. That he employed on several occasions, very much of his pains and substance in the service of his Country in trusts where to no Sallary nor Reward of that kind was annexed, and had therein the approbation of all concerned: That according to his station he did continually discountenance all Popish designs and Arbitrary proceedings, and endeavour'd to make the known Laws the Rule of his Actions that he did several years agoe foresee the designs of the Papists, and lamented the ill Circumstances and Danger of the Protestants, as also of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*; which he expressed to such of us as were his intimate acquaintance; That he very much rejoiced at the first News of his present Majesties undertaking the Protection of these Nations, and the Wonderful Success that attended his Majesties

sic in *England*; And that he did very early (sometime
 about the month of *October 1688*) represent to several of
 us, how all Our security was included in that of his Majesties
 fortune; That it was therefore needfull immediately to
 Unite and keep a correspondence at home, and to imploy
 some Person from the Protestants of *Ulster* to goe into *Eng-*
land, and to Represent their good Wishees to his Majesties
 Interest, their readinesse to serve him, the danger and oppres-
 sions under which they laboured, the number of Protestants
 in that Province fit and ready to take up Arms for his Ma-
 jesties Service, and the true Interest of the Crown of *England*,
 togetherwith the extraordinary want of Arms, Ammunition,
 Money and Officers, which he very much pressed and often
 repeated to be the only effectual means of preserving at least
 the Province of *Ulster*, from that Ruine which is now like
 to be the Fate of the whole Kingdom; and when he found his
 advice therein was too fatally neglected, and that there was
 not that necessary correspondence between persons of the
 best Credit, with the Protestants of the several Counties in
 this Kingdom that was requisite, and that he perceived that
 those persons who were best Able to influence the Protestants
 of *Ulster* did not at first think fit to appear in their defence,
 and that the Gentry, tho' for the most part forward enough,
 were yet too unfortunatly divided into petty Factions, he re-
 solved to go with his Family for *England*, till he was di-
 swaded from it by some of us, who conceived him a Person
 fit and capable to serve his Country in such difficult circum-
 stances. That about the seventh of *January 1688*, he was
 elected to be one of five Persons to manage the publick Af-
 fairs of the County of *Downe*, which trust, he was so far
 from seeking or using any contrivance to get, that at that
 time it was with some Difficulty that he was diswaded from
 going for *England*, that about the 19th. of *January* an Adress
 being agreed upon to be presented to his Majesty from the

Protestants of *Ulster*, and Captain *Leighton* desired to convey it with other necessary dispatches to *London*, he did out of his own Pocket advance Thirty Pounds for the expence of Captain *Leightons* Journey. That soon after it being found necessary that a Provincial Council should be Established for managing the affaires of *Ulster*. He was about the last of *January* appointed to be the Member that represented the County of *Downe* in that Assembly, Mr *Marke Midleton* serving there for *Armagh*; That he was by that Council appointed Treasurer for *Ulster*, and *Hillsborough* being appointed to be the place of the Councils Residence, where he constantly attended, and the Members of the other Counties not being altogether so constantly there, he was thereby compelled to officiate and perform the Duty of several other Offices; that at his instance Books were made for entring voluntary Contributions to support and maintain the Forces raised for preserving the Protestants of *Ulster*, wherein he was so exemplary that he was the first, and made one of the largest Subscriptions, and took herein as well as in all other Affairs relating to Our security, extraordinary Paines. That he rode several whole Nights in Frost and Snow to the great hazard of his Health. And never scrupled Contributing his advice, paines and Money to that, which We conceived Our interest; And that he with some few other Gentlemen did readily enter into security for what Money could be procured for the Publick service, and We believe that he is considerably Indebted on that account, and had been much more could Money have been raised for that purpose Dated *February 1689*.

I have received an Account from Persons of good Credit and Reputation, that the Contents of the above Certificate are true.

Anth Meath.

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<i>Meath</i>	<i>Henry Davys</i>	<i>James Clewlee</i>
<i>Mount Alexander</i>	<i>Edward Ellis</i>	<i>James Hamilton</i>
<i>Dunganon</i>	<i>Arthur Upton</i>	<i>Charles Leslie</i>
<i>Blaney</i>	<i>Richard Johnston</i>	<i>David Maxwell</i>
<i>Arthur Rawdon</i>	<i>Hugh Mac Gill</i>	<i>Robert Hamilton</i>
<i>Robert Colvill</i>	<i>James Mac Cartney</i>	<i>Henry Maxwell</i>
<i>William Franklin</i>	<i>William Shaw</i>	<i>Jasper Brett</i>
<i>Ro. Maxwell</i>	<i>Randle Brice</i>	<i>John Hamilton.</i>
<i>John Topham</i>	<i>Christ. Carleton</i>	<i>Hugh Echlin</i>
<i>John Magill</i>	<i>James Roffe</i>	<i>Hugh Browne</i>
<i>John Mac Neale</i>	<i>Hans Traile</i>	<i>Alex. Stewart</i>
<i>James Hamilton</i>	<i>Gilbert Ormsby</i>	<i>Henry Maxwell</i>
<i>Francis Hamilton</i>	<i>David Campbell</i>	<i>Rowland Brown</i>
<i>Nich. Price</i>	<i>Charles Thompson</i>	<i>John Pierce</i>
<i>Robert Gorges</i>	<i>Wil Cunningham</i>	<i>Richard Curll</i>
<i>John Hill</i>	<i>James Sloane</i>	<i>George MacCartney</i>
<i>Nich. Sankey</i>	<i>John Norris</i>	<i>Charles Campbell</i>
<i>Gustavus Hamilton</i>	<i>Sta. Lightburne</i>	<i>Robert Curtis</i>
<i>Frederick Hamilton</i>	<i>James Bailie</i>	<i>John Curtis</i>
<i>George Dunbarr</i>	<i>James Hamilton</i>	<i>William Hogge</i>
<i>Mark Hodges</i>	<i>William Warren</i>	<i>John Blackwood</i>
<i>Malcolm Hamilton</i>	<i>James Maxwell</i>	<i>Hans Stinson</i>
<i>Gaw. Hamilton</i>	<i>Hu. Mount Gomery</i>	<i>Daniel Golborne</i>
<i>Thomas Whitney</i>	<i>B. Vanhomreigh</i>	<i>N. Ward</i>
<i>Hen. Hamilton</i>	<i>William Brett</i>	<i>Richard Graham</i>
<i>Anth. Lock</i>	<i>John Gibbons</i>	<i>Robert King</i>
<i>Rich. Lock</i>	<i>Franc. Hall</i>	<i>James Melvin</i>
<i>Arch. Macculloch</i>	<i>Josseline Hamilton</i>	
<i>Evan Humphries</i>	<i>Gustavus Hamilton</i>	

To the Earl of Clarendon.

Hiltsborough. 19 Jan. 1683.

THE Tranquillity we enjoyed under your Govern-
ment of this Kingdom, and the particular marks of
Favour to many of us, and your appearing so remarkably
on all Occasions wherein the Protestant Religion and Inter-
est of it's Professors is concerned, were the inducements that
prevailed with us to presume to give you the trouble of in-
terceding with his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange*, on
Our behalves, and Supplicating his Highness, that with the
greatest Speed he thinks fit he will appoint such Forces,
Arms, Amunition and Supplies of Money, as he Judges
necessary for preserving this Kingdom to the Crown of
England whereunto we are willing to contribute with the
hazzard of our Lives and Fortunes. And that your Lord-
ship may be able particularly to inform his Royal Highness
of our circumstances, we herewith send your Lordship an ac-
count of the progress we have made towards securing our
selves against the suddain and violent attempts of our Ene-
mies. We herewith send your Lordship the Copy of the Instru-
ment signed by the Gentry of the County of *Downe*, wherein
five of their number are appointed to manage Affairs relating
to the Publick Peace, and the like method is approved of,
and will with all expedition be put in practice by the o-
ther Counties of this Province. And that done, it is intend-
ed that one person out of the Council of Five be appointed
for a Member of the Council of the Union of the whole
Province, and by their Orders the general Affairs of the
Publick Peace are to be directed. The Gentry of the Coun-
ties

ties of *Downe*, *Antrim*, *Ardmagh* and *Monaghan*, have Elected the Earl of *Mount. Alexander* to Command such Forces as in Case of necessity we shall be obliged to raise for our present defence, and we doubt not but the other Counties will comply therein as in other measures.

These our Methods are the effect of the present necessity and danger we are under, and not intended longer to continue then till we are so happy as to receive his Highness Orders herein, to which we will submit with the greatest Deference. We herewith also send your Lordship an Address which we begg your Lordship will present with our Duty to his Highness. We conceived it not convenient therein to represent at large our great hazard and nakedness, which would have been an Information to our Enemies as well as his Highness, all Addresses being usually made publick, and that we thought it not fit to be so prolix in a thing of that Nature. And for that we are assured your Lordships representation of our Condition will be laid before his Highness, with the greatest Advantage to our Interest : The Gentleman we have chose to convey these to your Lordship is Captain *Baldwin Leighton*, of whose sincerity to the Protestant and *English* Interest we have a remarkable instance for being a Captain in the Regiment Commanded by Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, he with the other Protestant Officers of that Regiment joyned with us to have disarmed all the Papists of that Regiment, which the Officers so well laid that had not some of us been unprepared the design could not have missed of taking effect, and a great likelihood of seizing the Castle of *Carrickfergus* by their means, as also of disarming the Earl of *Antrims* new raised Regiment ; since which time, he with Lieutenant *Malcome Hamilton*, Lieutenant *John Tubman*, Lieutenant *James Barry* and Ensign *Henry Talbot*, have made a surrender of their Commissions and remain with us, ready to serve his Highness in such

Station as he shall think fit to appoint them; and we humbly recommend them to your Lordship as Persons of great desert and conceive them well qualified for preferment. At the same time they laid down their Commissions they prevailed with One hundred and fifty private Protestant Soldiers with their Arms to quit their service, which Soldiers are now provided for by us, and dispersed to exercise the ordinary Protestants, by which means one of the eldest and best Regiments my Lord *Tyrconnel* hath, is rendred almost as weak as a new raised Regiment: And we have a full assurance from some other Protestant Officers of that Regiment that when we desire, they will also give up their Commissions and assist us. But it was judged most for our Interest that they keep their Employments for some time. Captain *Leighton* can give your Lordship their Names, and we supplicate that we may have Commissions according to the Lists we send of what Men we hope we shall be able to raise by means of those mentioned as capable of being Colonels, and that blank Commissions be sent also for their Inferior Officers. Herewith is also sent your Lordship a Paper containing some Articles whereunto the Lord *Tyrconnel* consented at the instance of my Lord *Mountjoy*, who transmitted them to us before his going to *France*. But tho' these Articles carry a seeming security to us of this Province, yet we know they are not much to be relied upon, some breach being already made, Men being at this instant raising. We have an account from my Lord *Kingston* out of *Sligo* that his Lordship hath taken up Arms, and herewith transmit to your Lordship his Declaration and Letter. We likewise send your Lordship such a List of the present Popish Army as we have from *Dublin*.

We have from the precedent of what is done in *England*, and the assurance of the clemency of his Highness's temper, promised Papists, that if they will be peaceable and amenable to Law: We will be so far from molesting them, that

we

we will protect them as Protestants; And we conceive that if his Highness pleasure were fully known how far they are to be assured of their Estates, and Enjoyment of their Religion, that it may conduce to the more speedy settlement of this Kingdom, and be a means to separate several of the *Ulster* Papists, from the Earl of *Tyrconnels* interest; in order whereunto we have already appointed one of Our Number Mr. *James Hamilton* of *Tallymore*, more particularly to discourse with them, which if approved by his Highness, we conceive a Commission and Instructions to that purpose may be necessary, without which We cannot presume to make the necessary steps in that matter. We have herein sent your Lordship some particulars of our Grievances and Wants. The former will justify our proceedings, and the latter shew the necessity of sending us a speedy relief. Herewith is also sent a Copy of the Declaration which was intended to be published in case we had been necessitated to take up Arms. We conceive that if his Highness think fit to issue a Declaration, requiring the Papists of this Kingdom to lay down their Arms, that it will contribute to our safety, and the peace of the Kingdom, for we suppose many of them will comply therewith, and We shall be industrious to publish the Declaration. We begg your Lordships pardon for this great trouble, and remain

Your Lordships

Most Humble

Servants.

A List of the Grievances and Wants of the Protestant Inhabitants of the Province of ULSTER in the Kingdom of IRELAND.

THe late standing Army of *Ireland* having received their Commissions from the King was generally turn'd out, for no other reason but because they were Protestants and their places supplied with Papists, Natives of this Kingdom, and by Commissions given by the Earl of *Tyrconnel* in his own Name. New Levies were made of Papists to the Number of Thirty Thousand Men, the Officers and Soldiers, or their Ancestors, being the very Actors of the barbarous Cruelty and horrid Massacres committed in the late Rebellion, pretending themselves to be the Antient Proprietors and Entitled to the Estates of Protestants, and the Common Soldiers for the most part heretofore guilty of Thefts and Robberies, and so accustomed to spoil and Rapine, that in a manner they live upon free Quarters,

The Charters of our Corporations are by extrajudicial and illegal proceedings adjudged forfeited and seized, and new Charters granted, appointing Men of mean fortune, not residing within the several Corporations, and others not qualified by Law, to Govern, and containing in them such Oaths and Clauses as make it wholly impracticable to have a Free Parliament Elected.

The Protestant party in this Country are very destitute of Armes and Ammunition, the Arms which they had in the late Kings time, being since his death wrested from them, and the Militia Arms by Proclamation taken out of Prote-

stant hands, and committed to his Majesties Stores and since given out to Papists.

The great discouragements the Protestants have of late met with in Courts of Judicature and from other Civil and Military Officers and Men of Trust, hath in a great measure destroy'd the Trade of the Kingdom & impaired the Revenue, and the great Jealousies and Common fear of a Massacre of the Protestants, hath occasioned so many hundreds of Families to leave the Kingdom and withdraw their effects that the Country in many places is laid waste, and the Tenants remaining are so very poor that the Nobility and Gentry are wholly disabled to supply themselves with necessaries for the safety of the Kingdom.

We are humbly of opinion that Ten Thousand Foot and Fifteen Hundred Horse, with Saddles and Furniture for Horse and Dragoons, which are not to be purchased here, together with Twenty Thousand of Arms, Ammunition, Commissions and money will be sufficient to preserve and rescue this Kingdom out of the Papists hands, and if his Highness think fit to divide the Forces sent hither, We conceive 3 Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse (in regard *Ulster* being ill provided with Horse) and Twelve Thousand of Arms a fit proportion for the North. And we humbly propose *Belfast* and *Strangford* to be convenient landing places for the Party sent to assist us; the Castle of *Killeleah* a place of strength and lying on the Water near *Strangford*, being in Protestants hands and the whole Country adjoining, being well planted with Protestants.

To

The Association in the County of Downe.

TT being notoriously known not only to the Protestant Inhabitants of the Northern Counties, but to those throughout the whole Kingdom of Ireland that the Publique Peace of this Nation is now in Great and Imminent danger, and that it is absolutely necessary for all Protestants to agree within their several Counties in some methods besides those ordinarily appointed by our Laws for their own defence, and preserving as much as in them lies the Publique Peace of the Nation which is so much endeavoured to be disturbed by Popish and Illegal Councillours and their Abettors; And for that Union Secresly and Dispatch are necessary to the effecting of the said design.

Therefore we the Persons hereunto subscribing our Names do in behalf of our selves and Protestant Tenants Authorize and Impower Sir Arthur Rawdon Barronet, Sir Robert Colvill, Kt. James Hamilton of Newcastle, John Hawkins of Rafryland and James Hamilton of Tollymore Esqs; or any Three of them to Assemble at such Time and Place, and as oft as they shall think fit and to Consult, Advise and determine of all matters which relate to the Publique Peace of this County and Kingdom. And we the said Persons hereunto Subscribing our names, being Protestant Proprietors in the County of Downe Do hereby engage for our selves and (as far as in us lies) our Tennants aforesaid to perform and execute all such Orders, Commands and Directions as shall from time to time be made, Published or given by the said Persons, or any Three of them as aforesaid. In Witness whereof we have here hereunto Subscribed our Names this seventh of January, 1688.

*In Witness of our Acceptance
of the above Trust we have
hereunto put our hands.*

Ar. Rawdon,
Ro. Colvill,
James Hamilton,
James Hamilton,
John Hawkins,

To His Royal Highness the Prince of
ORANGE, The humble Address
 of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry
 of the Province of **ULSTER** in the
 Kingdom of **IRELAND**.

SIR,

The sincerity wherewith we congratulate your Highness's
 Glorious Enterprizes and equal success cannot be
 doubted by any who consider the miseries which our Enemies de-
 signed for us, and from which we believe our selves rescued, your
 Highness having Our preservation in your thoughts. We own
 that whatsoever the Defender of the Protestant Religion in
 Europe, and whatsoever the preserver of the best tempered Go-
 vernment and Laws (those of England) may claim from a people
 happily Educated in the freedom of those sacred Constitutions,
 which we, even now, saw ready to be offered as a Victim to Our
 merciless Adversaries, are all too short of the acknowledgments
 due to your Highness, who without the Title has performed the
 true Office of a King, and that nothing less than the United
 thanks of all, who value and profess the truth of the Christian
 Religion, and those who have a just sense of freedom and detesta-
 tion of Slavery and Oppression, can bear a proportion to the ho-
 nours Heaven has bestowed on your Highness.

And now only remains that we humbly beg your Highness will
 command some of your Victorious Forces at once to free us from
 Danger and restore us to the enjoyment of our almost ruined
 Laws, that we may spend the Remainder of our days in contri-
 buting Our Services to the promoting those vast designs for
 which your Highness seems to be appointed by Providence, for

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for which we shall always as well expose Our Lives and Fortunes as make it our humble request to the Almighty that your Highness may be ever Successfull.

Dated at Hillsborough 19th. Jan. 1688.

[To the Earl of Mount-Alexander to be communicated to the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of ULSTER.

HAVING received an Account by Captain Leighton of what he was intrusted to represent to us, in relation to the Condition of the Protestants in Ireland. We have directed him to assure you in Our Name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazzards you are exposed to by the illegal power the Papists have of late usurped in that Kingdom. And that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in Our Power for Rescuing you from the Oppressions and terrors you lye under.

That in the mean time we do well approve of the endeavours We understand you are using to put your selves into a posture of Defence, that you may not be surprized, wherein you may expect all the incouragement and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are perswaded, that there are, even of the Romish Communion, many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and Arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in Authority; And we thinking it just to make distinctions of persons according to their behaviour and deserts: Do hereby authorize you to promise in Our Name to all such as shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, Our Protection and Exemption from those pains and Forfeitures, which those only shall incur, who are the main-
tainers

rainers and abettors of the said illegal Authority assumed and continued contrary to Law, or who shall act any thing to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest, and the disturbance of the publick Peace in that Kingdom. And for further particulars, referr you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who has acquitted himself with Fidelity and Diligence in your concerns) of the sincerity of our Intentions toward you. And so we recommend you to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at St. James's the 10th. day of Feb. 1688.

William Henry.

By His Highness Command.

William Jephson.

Articles agreed upon the Twenty First day of February, 1688. between the Right Honourable Alexander Earl of Antrim, Colonel Cormack O Neile, & Lieutenant Colonel Markes Talbot in behalf of themselves and other Officers and Soldiers now in Garrison in the Town of Carrickfergus on the one part.

And the Right Honourable Hugh Earl of Mount-Alexander for and in behalf of himself and other Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Counties of Downe and Antrim on the other part.

First. **T**He said Colonel Cormack O Neile is immediately to disperse his Regiment of Foot and other Soldiers at present under his Command, and the said Earl of Mount-Alexander and others

for which we shall always as well expose Our Lives and Fortunes as make it our humble request to the Almighty that your Highness may be ever Successfull.

Dated at Hillsborough 19th. Jan. 1688.

To the Earl of Mount-Alexander to be
communicated to the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of U L S T E R.

HAVING received an Account by Captain Leighton of what he was intrusted to represent to us, in relation to the Condition of the Protestants in Ireland. We have directed him to assure you in Our Name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazzards you are exposed to by the illegal power the Papists have of late usurped in that Kingdom. And that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in Our Power for Rescuing you from the Oppressions and terrors you lye under.

That in the mean time we do well approve of the endeavours We understand you are using to put your selves into a posture of Defence, that you may not be surprized, wherein you may expect all the encouragement and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are persuaded, that there are, even of the Romish Communion, many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and Arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in Authority; And we thinking it just to make distinctions of persons according to their behaviour and deserts: Do hereby authorize you to promise in Our Name to all such as shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, Our Protection and Exemption from those pains and Forfeitures, which those only shall incur, who are the maintainers

tainers and abettors of the said illegal Authority assumed and continued contrary to Law, or who shall act any thing to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest, and the disturbance of the publick Peace in that Kingdom. And for further particulars, referr you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who has acquitted himself with Fidelity and Diligence in your concerns) of the sincerity of our Intentions toward you. And so we recommend you to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at St. James's the 10th. day of Feb. 1688.

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And the Right Honourable Hugh Earl of Mount-Alexander for and in behalf of himself and other Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Counties of Downe and Antrim on the other part.

First. **T**He said Colonel Cormack O Neile is immediately to disperse his Regiment of Foot and other Soldiers at present under his Command, and the said Earl of Mount-Alexander and others joyned

joyned with him, shall give Protections to each person of the said Regiment that shall be so dispersed and require the same.

Secondly, That the Inhabitants of the said Town of *Carrickfergus*, may constantly keep Town Watches and Guards without any disturbance from the said Garrison to the Guards aforesaid or other the Inhabitants of the said Town of *Carrickfergus*.

Thirdly, That neither Party offer violence the one to the other.

Fourthly, That the Earl of *Antrim* be permitted to take in weekly his own provisions, which are not to exceed a Weeks subsistence for his Men, and that neither the said Earl of *Antrim*, or any other person of the said Garrison of *Carrickfergus* make greater Stores for the said Garrison than what may subsist those belonging to the Regiment of the said Earl at present in Garrison in the said Town.

Fifthly, That the said Earl of *Antrim* be permitted to send such Letters to *Dublin* as he will shew the said Earl of *Mount Alexander* and other Nobility and Gentry aforesaid. Provided there be nothing contained in such Letters that may in the least tend to the breach of any of these present Articles or the bringing or raising more Forces into *Ulster* or disturbing the peace thereof.

Sixthly, That all Goods whatsoever taken by any Soldier or other depending on the said Earl and Officers in the said Garrison be immediately restored to the proper owner or full reparation made therefor.

Seventhly, That all such Soldiers of the said Garrison as have assaulted any of the Inhabitants, be immediately given up to be punished according to Law.

Eighthly, That the aforesaid several Articles be put in immediate Execution, and to continue in force whilst no more Popish Forces are sent into or raised in the said Province of *Ulster*,

Ulster, and that no disturbance is given by the said Garrison of *Carrickfergus* to the peace of the said Province of *Ulster*.

In Witness whereof the Parties aforesaid have hereunto set their Hands and Seales the ~~second~~ day of *Febr.* 1688, 21st

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered
in the presence of

Henry Davis
Richard Johnson
Clott. Upton

Antrim
Co: Neile
Marke Talbott

Memorand

That the said Regiment of the said Colonel *Cormack* O *Neile* be disbanded on or before *Monday* next following the date hereof, The Protections to be first delivered and the pass abovementioned for such Person as shall carry the said Letter,
Marke Talbott.

- 1 *Earl of Mount-Alexander*
- 2 *Sir Arthur Rawdon*
- 3 *Sir William Franklin*
- 4 *James Hamilton*
- 5 *Richard Johnson*
- 6 *Arthur Upton*
- 7 *Marcus Middleton*
- 8 *George Mac-Cartney*

To

(44)

To Captain Joceline Hamilton at
DRUMORE.

Edinburgh March 13th. 1888,

Dear Brother,

I find the Officers here are for retreating, and imagine the
Enemy will very soon advance, therefore dispatch immedi-
ately to Lecale and Order all the Papers and things of value
to be sent for the Isle of Man, or some such place; and that what
Gold or Silver you have be brought. I send you the Key of my
Scrutary in the Drawer whereof are most of the Executors bonds,
which you may Order to be sent with the Papers. Loose nothing,
Order what Horses of Service you have, and all my Cattle to
be immediately driven to Lisburne.

Your affectionate Brother.

James Hamilton,

PRINTS



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